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What's the Matter with America

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The Meaning of

The Progressive Movement

and

The Rise of the New Party

By

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What's the Matter with America

There is a great deal going on to-day which savors of mystery and passes the comprehension of some men's minds. Whether we are reactionaries or radicals, whether we stand together on platitudes and conventions or unite in the free masonry of facts, we all feel that vast forces are at work in America which we do not entirely understand, and whose power and direction no one has been able to measure with accuracy.

The American people, said a college president in a memorable baccalaureate address, is forever embarking with all sails set—for nowhere. Not long ago an Englishman, H. G. Wells, in his notes on America, said that in spite of the impressive and apparently resistless energy which he saw everywhere, he could find no trace of a national purpose, no evidence that our people were trying to make their country different or better than it was. Is this true? Are we a purposeless people, a nation of agitators enamored of strife and motion for its own sake? Is our agitation and motion merely rotary, or, through the length and breadth of our history, has it followed a definite purpose? And, above all, what is that purpose, and how are we seeking its accomplishment to-day?

The world stands aside for those who know where they are going. At this time of great national change and pressure, it behooves every thoughtful American to ascertain for himself the meaning of the events which are happening around him.

"Mr. President," said a young American in his speech to the Virginia Convention in 1775, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way to judge the future but by the past."

But, unfortunately, the study of our past through books of American history rarely gives us more than a vague hint at the underlying causes of events, and altogether fails either to explain the present or throw light forward along the pathway of the future.

Unfortunately, American histories have generally been written in the oak panelled libraries of more or less fossilized gentlemen, who are far removed from the stark realities of existence, and have little contact or sympathy with the problems, thoughts and impulses which have aroused our majorities to action, and have made or unmade nations.

Belonging to what we call our privileged class, and happy in a position of comfortable immunity from that struggle for the

crude necessities of life, which is the lot of the average American man or woman, most of our historians describe American events with minds as free from appreciation of underlying causes as the mind of a child at a pantomime is free from knowledge of what goes on behind the scenes. To them, history apparently narrows itself down to the story of the acts of a few great patriots of good appearance and admirable morals, and to the description of a number of hackneyed tax laws and stock battles. And here and there, to make the pages pleasing to the young and romantic, as well as to point a moral, is brought in the wreck of some great traitor, who, Lucifer-like, falls from his position of respectable opulence and power into the outer darkness of poverty and disgrace. Rarely do our historians feel or write in terms of the people's thought. Not often do they cease to deal with symptoms and effects and get down to root and cause.

Nevertheless, in spite of historians and pedagogues, I believe that through the maze and tangle of our national life, a wide, straight vista may be hewn, stretching through the past into the present, and flinging out into the sunlight of the future the promise of a great unresting national purpose.

In this pamphlet I have tried to show what has been the trouble in America during the vital periods of our history, and what, I believe, is the trouble to-day. It may also help to explain the meaning of the Progressive Movement and the rise of the new party.

Amos Pinchot,
Oct. 1, 1912.

PART ONE

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE

The first period of American history is the story of a conflict of ideas in the old world which brought the colonists across the sea to the new.

America had three mothers. From England, France and the Netherlands came the men and ideas that made our nation. The history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England, France and the Netherlands is the first chapter of the story of the development of America's national purpose. As a vivid succession of national adventures, the story of this time has no rival in literature.

Whatever the causes may have been, the huge sodden cloud that covered Europe through the middle ages, at this time rolled away. The human spirit, liberated from the bondage of long, dark centuries arose from its sleep. Men looked around them and took stock of the world they lived in. The habit of independent thinking, which is merely another name for the spirit of democracy, was revived. And an irresistible wave of progressive thought surged and thundered over Europe. From out of a world recently covered with the dry rot of mental inertia, there gushed a river of spiritual regeneration and revolt against economic oppression, carrying away on its restless current the wrecks and jetsam of dead feudal and monarchical centuries. Then the age of miracles was at hand, and everything happened at once. The revolution was on, and Europe knew no rest while the new spirit of democracy, heedless of border, breed and birth, burst upon the world, proclaiming the doctrine of equality of opportunity for human beings.

But most of all, the revolution gained power and expression in England, France and the Netherlands, the countries in which were being shaped the ideas and standards that the colonists brought with them to America. In the lands of our three mothers, as if touched by the warmth of a long hidden sun, there sprang forth an army of great progressive thinkers, soldiers and statesmen. Geniuses poured forth the thought of the new era in a stream of passionate and beautiful expression. Side by side, kings and commoners, churchmen and beggars swelled the chorus of the new democracy, and hurled defiance at the old order as they swung onward toward the new. Poets, scientists, dramatists, philosophers and artists suddenly appeared; men of action, inspired interpreters of life and preachers

of long forgotten spiritual truths took the center of the stage in the great new drama of progress. "There is nothing real or useful," said Emerson, "that is not a seat of war." The period that preceded and lasted through the colonization of America was a time of inestimable value to the human race, and therefore one of unexampled struggle and warfare. It was the conception in the old world of the nation that was soon to be born in the new.

The first symptom of this progressive movement in Europe was the quickening of the spirit of inquiry. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Sebastian Cabot charted the boundaries of the new world, and Copernicus wrote his digest of astronomy that for the first time established the real arrangement of the planetary system. Both Catholics and non-conformists in France, Switzerland, Germany and the Netherlands were revolting against the narrow and absolutely unchristian kind of religion that the middle ages had saddled upon them, and were beginning to preach a more real Christianity. Lefevre, Farel, Berquin, Briconnet, the Bishop of Meaux and Martin Luther, were all seeking the same regeneration of the world by a return to those elementary truths taught by "their Divine Master." Strong in his faith in the power of simple Christianity, "God will renew the world," said Lefevre to his pupil Farel, "and you will see it." Through his doctrine of the fraternity and spiritual equality of all men John Calvin was encouraging the down-trodden people of Europe to regain the self-respect and mental self-confidence which feudal government and feudal religion had crushed out of them.

Cervantes fanned the flame of progressive thought by writing his great "book of humanity," Don Quixote, which, more powerfully than any book written before or since, analyzed feudal conditions of life and suspended before the clear lens of exquisite satire the absurdity and injustice of obsolete institutions. Rabelais, of the master mind, attacked the same time-worn injustices with the heavy bludgeon of his gross wit, stark common sense and dauntless courage. John Knox, the French poet and philosopher Marot, and a host of others were stirring up thought both in England and France. Drake circumnavigated the world. While in art, the spirit of advance was expressing itself through the work of such men as Benvenuto Cellini, Albrecht Durer, Hans Holbein, Andrea del Sarto, Raphael, Veronese, Titian and Leonardi da Vinci. But most radical and revolutionary of all, printing was becoming commercially profitable, and in 1539 Grafton brought out a translation of the Bible in an edition of 2,500 copies.

Then came the great Elizabethan period—the golden age of unafraid thought. The young poet Spenser, gave his message of hope and inspiration to the people of England. Shakespeare, beginning his dramatic career holding a horse in the wings of a London theatre, portrayed human character as has no other man that the world has seen, and threw over Europe the stimulation of his intense, passionate, widesweeping thought. Bacon, the great realist in an age of

realism, hurled the disturbing energy of his powerful mind into the fields of science, economics and statesmanship. Milton the poet, Bunyan the teacher, Dryden, Bossuet, Fenelon, Pascal, Corneille, Sir Edward Coke the jurist, Racine, de la Rochefoucault the moralist, Sir Christopher Wren, Cardinal Mazarin, Sir Henry Vane, and a host of great personalities crowded the stage and surcharged an atmosphere already vibrant with progressive potentialities. Meanwhile Galileo, inventor of the compass, the clock and the telescope and the discoverer of the shape of planets and of the mountains on the moon, was branding himself as an infidel by publishing the results of his experiments. And to make matters more disturbing in this disturbing age, Harvey came forward with his discovery of the circulation of the blood. Descartes accomplished in metaphysics what Bacon accomplished in natural science. John Locke, the friend of religious and civil liberty, wrote his essay on the human understanding. Van Dyke, Murillo, Rembrandt, Franz Hals and Velasquez wrought in Spain and Holland. The English gentlemen pirates conquered the seas, set new standards of adventurous commerce, and broadened men's conception of the world by the account of their voyages, and the fighting admirals of the Netherlands strengthened men's hearts with the proof that steadfast courage was unconquerable even by superior force.

Radical thinking is merely thinking about things as they are—plunging deeply into realities and causes instead of skimming the surface. All straight thinking is radical. All helpful action is the result of radical thought. True education is radical, for it teaches facts. The printing press was radical because it scattered information and encouraged thought, and the doctrines of Christianity and Judaism most radical of all, because they invited the world's attention to the simple, underlying truths upon which all society is founded. Radicalism is neither a fad nor an eccentric habit, but a simple duty. To think radically is incumbent upon all civilized human beings, unless we admit either that the problems of this world can be solved without taking account of underlying causes or that they cannot be solved at all.

In the three countries which furnished not only our colonists, but the ideals and principles of justice upon which our new nation was founded, the new, irrepressible spirit of radical thought took issue with the forces of privilege, and plunged Europe into a maelstrom of civil war and dissension. The real causes of the trouble were not everywhere clear. In histories we find the internal wars of this time described as either political or religious. Some of them no doubt were political or religious, but in the vast majority of cases we find underneath politics and religion an economic cause. We find that the real question at stake was whether the people should remain mere tools in a system of exploitation carried on for the benefit of the privileged class surrounding the crown, or rise to the dignity of being an end in themselves.

The Parliamentary leader Burke informs us that the struggle

for Anglo-Saxon liberty has always been fought upon the battlefield of taxation. Certainly the history of England from the reign of Elizabeth until the monarchy was replaced by Cromwell's Parliament, is one long struggle between the people and their kings over the question whether Parliament or the Crown should have the power to tax.

IN ENGLAND

In Elizabeth's reign the English made the first strong protest against the Crown exercising its ancient power of taxing the people by giving away commercial monopolies to members of the privileged class. Elizabeth yielded where James or Charles would have held on, and the democratic revolution was postponed half a century. The reign of James the First was a constant bicker between the people represented by Parliament and the privileged class represented by the Crown, over the question of the right of taxation. In a speech to Parliament in 1621, the King announced that the power of the people to interfere in public affairs was solely derived from the "grace and permission" of himself and his ancestors, and he advised Parliament not to meddle at all with "the main points of government."

A characterization of James in the Edinborough Review reminds one of a distinguished stand-pat leader of the present day. "He neither gave way gracefully to the advancing spirit of liberty, nor took vigorous measures to stop it, but retreated before it with ludicrous haste, blustering and insulting as he retreated." James was as deaf to the progressive movement in England as Elizabeth was awake to it, but because he was but a weak and ineffective enemy of progress, the people bore with him for twenty-two years. At his death he was succeeded by another stand-pat Stuart—Charles the First. "The main principle of his government," says the writer referred to above, "was resistance to public opinion; and hence his concessions were delayed till it mattered not whether he resisted or yielded, till the nation, which had long ceased to love or trust him, had at last ceased also to fear him."

In the reign of Charles the First, the struggle between the privileged class and the people of England became acute, with the question of the King's power to exploit the people as the bone of contention. But it was the introduction of the court into the situation that resulted in the tragic winding up of the partnership that existed between the Crown and the aristocracy, for the purpose of exploiting the man in the street and on the farm.

Like all Stuart kings, Charles the First was continually in financial difficulties. He decided therefore, solely upon the naked exercise of royal prerogative, to levy a real estate tax to be applied to the Royal Navy. This was called the Tonnage and Poundage tax, and on the country place of Cromwell's kinsman, John Hampden, it was assessed at twenty shillings. Hampden refused to

pay it on the ground that the King had no right to tax the people. The case was argued in the Exchequer Chamber and the bench handed in a divided opinion. Hampden, with the obstinacy of an outraged Englishman, decided to leave the country rather than pay the twenty shillings, and he and Cromwell were actually on board ship on the way to Connecticut when an order of the court prevented the ship from sailing.*

CROMWELL'S BID FOR DEMOCRACY

During all this time when the struggle between Parliament and the Crown was taking place in England, the people were as poor as the privileged class was rich. Ground down by taxes and tariffs and despised by the church and the privileged class alike, the average man, woman or child was considered a mere economic unit of a "sub-human herd." Property was exalted until it occupied a position of almost religious veneration, and the people, the nation's "spittle and filth," as they were called, were looked upon as undesirable but necessary tools in the great system of economic exploitation. The law, the courts, the church, the executive and the whole privileged class—all had the same inhuman attitude toward the weaker members of society. Children were hanged or mutilated for slight offenses against the sacred rights of property. Men who dared to bring law suits against powerful persons were arrested on bench warrants and thrown into prison. The courts issued no subpoenas, and witnesses were obtained only at the expense and instance of private parties. The church preached the doctrine of entire submission to vested wrongs, and the executive imposed its will upon the common man through the absolute control of legislation. Conditions of labor were terrible and without redress. When, after the great plague, there was a scarcity of labor, and wages went up, a law was enacted that men who refused to work for the same wages as before the plague should be branded upon the forehead. Labor unions were discouraged and workmen who organized for protection against capital were either fined, pilloried or mutilated.

Cromwell's wars, though nominally religious, were in reality the struggle of the English people for political power. But men do not fight for power unless they have some special use for it. The

*Foot Note. There is no case in the history of England which so closely resembles the Dred Scott case, decided by our own Supreme Court. If the English Courts had decided in favor of the people and against the vested rights of privilege they would have saved England from a bloody civil war. But England's court held in the Hampden case, just as our court held in the Dred Scott decision, that privilege was superior to the legislative representatives of the people, and in both cases a huge national catastrophe resulted. Certainly if Cromwell had left England with Hampden, and if the right of the Parliamentary government to tax had been vindicated by a favorable decision in the Hampden case, it is probable that the Covenanters and Round Heads would never have thrown England into the whirlpool of civil strife, and that Charles the First would not have been caught in the net in which his own stand-pat stupidity entangled him and finally carried him to the block.

people of England in Cromwell's time wanted power for the same purpose that the people of America want it to-day—to distribute wealth more equally, to modify the grinding poverty in which they live, and to enable them to enjoy the fruit of their labor without dividing it with the privileged class. The key-note of Cromwell's career and of his success was his great love for the people and his burning desire to see them happy and prosperous.

When, on August 30th, 1658, Cromwell was fighting his last battle with his only conqueror, death, the two characteristics of his strong, obstinate soul stood out—his fear of God and his love of the people. "It is a fearful thing," he cried, "to fall into the hands of the living God," and then "Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee, for Thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad at my death. Lord, however Thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good to them. * * * * Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people, too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer: even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night if it be Thy pleasure. Amen."

IN FRANCE

In France, meanwhile, the same questions were being fought out practically along the same lines. The Edict of Nantes in 1681 gave religious liberties to all people irrespective of creed. And then, with peace restored, Henry of Navarre, France's first democratic king, broke all kingly precedents and began a constructive campaign to improve the economic condition of France. He reorganized her finance and her system of agriculture. He built up the silk industry, encouraged the arts, extended commerce, constructed good roads, bridges and canals, and promoted colonization in Canada.

The reign of Louis the Fourteenth, the so-called Great Monarch, is the story of the up-building, by a man of enormous executive capacity, of two hostile forces. On the one hand, Louis constructed a centralized government based upon the proposition that the people could not govern themselves. All branches of government, centralized in one supreme agency, the Crown, were devoted to the aggrandizement and enrichment of the nobility at the expense of the people. On the other hand he encouraged literature, science, the arts. In short, while he piled up an imposing top-heavy, tyrannical structure of undemocracy, he also unconsciously set to work those revolutionary mental processes which in the long run must inevitably undermine and destroy it. Louis the Fourteenth was one of those unfortunate men who did not allow his right hand to know what his left hand was doing. To build up a system of industrial exploitation, and at the same time encourage independent thinking

was an error of judgment so obvious that even the King ought to have known better.

As France grew apparently mightier and cut a broader swath in the history of Europe, her people were growing poorer through exploitation by the privileged class. The order of France's nobility was exempt from taxation although their estates were often enormous. The average man had no standing in the courts. In proportion to the almost unbelievable luxury with which the privileged class surrounded themselves, the people were ground down by feudal customs and laws. They, too, like the common people of England, were considered a "sub-human herd," created especially for the profit and happiness of their superiors. By the corvée, the peasants were obliged to work without pay upon the great public buildings and on the network of fine military roads. The construction of the palace at Versailles cost thousands of lives. Underfed, overworked and living in unsanitary conditions, the peasants perished like flies, while the most perfectly equipped home of special privilege that the world has seen was completed for the pleasure of the King and his friends. Forced, unpaid labor was also required from the people in carrying military stores and baggage, and a multitude of feudal services were performed by them gratis for the privileged class everywhere. Even during the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, Turgot, a progressive Controller General of Finance, abolished twenty-three kinds of taxes which the people were obliged to pay on their own labor, on contracts, or on wages or compensation which they received as the result of their toil.

It was in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, after the spirit of liberty had been aroused by the Fronde revolution, in which the people, represented by Parliament, sought to assume powers hitherto held only by the Crown, after their spirit of liberty had been further stimulated by the horrible massacre and persecutions following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and when the centralized government of Louis the Fourteenth was undermining itself by oppression of the people on the one hand and by encouraging thought on the other, that the French Hugenots made a break for liberty, ran the gauntlet of Louis' dragonades and came to the American colonies.

THE PROGRESSIVE SPIRIT IN THE NETHERLANDS

But in this astonishing age, when the old world was awakening from its slumbers, the vital spirit of democracy and the yearnings of the people to achieve a more just civilization sprang into being in all places at once. While the fight for democracy was being carried on in England and France, from the reign of Elizabeth to Charles the Second, and from Francis the First to Louis the Fourteenth, the people of the Netherlands were neither idle nor silent.

From the time of Charles the Fifth, Spain's rich Netherland possessions had interfered somewhat with her trade in the East. They yielded insufficient revenue and they were unorthodox. The Spanish King, Charles the Fifth, had allowed his armies to sack Rome and imprison the Pope, and was entirely willing to tolerate unorthodoxy in other countries. But being in need of money, he became exceedingly devout and established in the Netherlands a thoroughgoing system of religious persecution.

Charles's son, Philip the Second, who was a more sincere religious bigot than his father, made a better case for his conscience but no worse a one for his pocket. When he came to the throne he continued and extended the inquisition, sent for Fernando Alvares de Toledo, Duke of Alva, and put him in charge of the work of saving the souls and appropriating the property of the Netherlanders. Alva, though at this time sixty years old, was probably the best man in Europe for the purpose. He was a refined, intellectual, but coldly ferocious military genius, with a quiet smile that made even his friends shiver. An English historian describes him as "perhaps the most bloodthirsty man who ever existed in what is called the civilized world." Motley speaks of him as the most effective general of his time. It was this man that advised Philip that, if the Netherlands were properly administered, "a stream of gold a yard deep" would flow from them to the Spanish treasury. Alva came to the Netherlands with an army which was a joy for military men to look upon, and for twelve years the Netherlands were deluged with blood.

EXPLOITATION OF THE PEOPLE

As a matter of course, confiscation of property accompanied the punishment of almost every grade of religious or political offence, and a system of extortionate and practically impossible taxation was imposed. The Tenth Penny (a ten percent tax) was placed on every article sold, and enormous personal and real property taxes were also saddled on the unfortunate people. Under Alva's administration the bloody stream of gold a yard deep was soon set in motion.

In spite of the war and the inquisition, the Netherland people desired to remain under the rule of Spain, and, even to William of Orange, the idea of separation was abhorrent. The revolution was forced upon them, and even as they died in battle or at the stake they continued to pray for the welfare of their Sovereign, and to ask God to turn his heart toward wisdom. Like most great wars, this struggle between Spain and the Netherlands was not political. It was not a revolution against political power, but against political power used for oppression and exploitation.

Spain was at this time Europe's most powerful country; she was an Empire rather than a nation. Nevertheless, upheld by the wonderful personality of William of Orange, with his dreams of a

seemingly impossible deliverance, with his idealism and his marvelous genius of accomplishment, the unconquerable Netherland people kept up the unequal fight. No struggle can be found in history, not even our own Civil War, that presents a record of such heroic, stubborn fighting. It was a war, wrote Alva himself to Phillip, such as never before was seen or heard of on land or sea.

Of the siege of Harlam, which lasted from December, 1572, to July, 1573, Alva wrote: "Never was a place defended with such skill and bravery either by rebels or by men fighting for their lawful Prince." When the besieged Netherlanders, reduced by starvation and disease and worn by sleepless fighting to a pitiful handful, had eaten everything in the city with the exception of a few loaves of bread that had been saved for the last extremity, these unconquerable men and women performed what I believe is one of the most unconsciously dramatic acts that has ever been recorded in military history. The Spaniards realizing that the people of Harlam must yield at once or die on the walls from lack of food, offered terms of surrender. The men of Harlam replied by hurling in the Spaniards' faces the last remaining loaves of bread that were in the city. Harlam fell, and like every town that fell, Alva's soldiers were encouraged to sack it with horrible barbarity.

In 1572, was the defense and destruction of Mons. Then came the capitulation of Mechlin, and the first siege of Leyden, that lasted from October 31, 1573, to March 21, 1574. But during the last siege of Leyden, from March 26, to October 3, 1574, when the fortunes of William and his people were at their lowest ebb, when the grip of Spain upon the throat of the Netherlands seemed impossible to shake off, this people showed the real stuff of which it was made. Quietly the burghers and their leader sat down to discuss the desperate situation. If Leyden should fall their cause was lost. The Inquisition, the Tenth Penny, and Spain's whole terrible system of exploitation would be fastened upon them. Neither political, nor religious, nor industrial liberty would ever be regained.

With the steadfast simple patriotism of a great people, led by a great pure-spirited man, they decided that the only way to rid their nation of its oppressors was to sacrifice their country by opening the dikes and letting in the sea, which they and their fathers had labored so patiently through centuries to push back. This they did, deliberately and with knowledge of the tremendous material disaster which it entailed. At Rotterdam, Schydam and Delfts Haven the dikes were opened and the ocean swept through, over the fertile lands cultivated by their long toil. In through the breeches in the dikes, over the canals—sailed the great Dutch ships to the relief of the beleaguered cities, the Dutch fleet commanded by those staunch, quiet men that were still to make even the great English admirals fear the stubborn power and moral strength of this unconquerable race. This was the crisis of the war, and an absolute proof to Spain that neither the spiritual domination nor the economic exploitation of the Netherland people could be accomplished by human agency.

THE RECALL IN HOLLAND

The last chapter of the war against privilege in which William of Orange led the Dutch people, is the most remarkable of all. It is the writing of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of Holland, the publication of which scandalized Europe and set a new standard of democracy, on the 26th of July, 1581. In it, the people of Holland conceded the divine right of Kings to rule them, and denied only that there existed a divine right to misrule them. But the startling blasphemy of Holland's Declaration of Independence, which earned William and his people the reputation of being wild cat radicals, was contained in the following words: "All mankind knows," says the Declaration, "that a prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects, even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When, therefore, the prince does not fulfill his duty as a protector; when he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties, and treats them as slaves, he is to be considered not a prince, but a tyrant. As such, the estates of the land *may lawfully and reasonably depose him, and elect another in his room.*" Thus in the very foundation of the Dutch democracy, a democracy with a record for stability and sanity which is equaled by that of no other country in the world, William the Silent, and the strong, far-seeing men about him sought to embed the principle of the recall of unfaithful public servants, extending even to the divinely selected occupants of the throne itself.

THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY CARRIED TO THE NEW WORLD

And so it was that three centuries ago the people of our three mothers, England, Holland and France, wrote in their blood and sweat their hopes of liberty, and their dreams of a better, juster world. In an era still clouded by the dark mists of the middle ages, at a time when liberty, when the right of men and women to keep unshared with privilege the fruit of their own toil, was but "a shade of a word and a thing not seen with the eyes," our forefathers in our three mother lands fought the great battle of progress against custom, precedent and against the overwhelming odds of entrenched arrogant power. With such traditions, with the inspiration of such heroic dramas quick in their minds, with flesh and spirit quivering from the lash of oppression, with the meaning and value of justice burned into their minds and souls, and with the surge and thunder of the progressive movement of Europe ringing in their ears, they came to the new world to make living realities of the great purpose that Europe had taught them. All events, revolutions, wars, the building of empires and their fall, are begun in men's thoughts. The Progressive movement in Europe during the time of our colonization furnished the thoughts which later bore fruit in the founding of the American nation.

PART TWO

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION

The second chapter of American history contains the story of our war with England. And now for the first time we find a clear line drawn between the people and privilege—between the men who believe in industrial liberty and the men who believe in industrial slavery. In the Revolutionary War we find the full development of America's national purpose.

Loria, the Italian economist, says that out of 286 wars studied, 258 were due to economic causes, and that the remaining 28, though apparently religious, also had economic influences behind them. Unquestionably most of the wars in Europe that we have mentioned were caused by industrial injustice to the people. Yet some of them were no doubt largely political—some brought on by sheer ambition, rage or insanity of kings or their advisers. Without doubt, under a centralized government owned and operated by a powerful group, nations could be hurled bodily into disaster without the consent of the people. In times of benighted religious fanaticism also, when it was considered a virtue to kill a man if he disagreed with you, and thus deliver his soul into everlasting torture, purely religious wars were certainly possible.

NOT A WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

In the Revolutionary War there is no blurring of the issue, no room for doubt as to the motives on each side. Once and for all let it be remembered that the Revolutionary War was not a political war. Politics can never be raised to the dignity of a great issue. Politics has no just claim to be an end in itself. It should be merely an instrument—a means to an end. And that end is the welfare of men, women and children. Upon the issue of human welfare, and upon this issue alone, our war with England was fought.

As the American colonies became better established and began to amount to something commercially, the old world began to take account of them once more. On the whole, England governed the American colonies well. She gave us a fair amount of home rule. We were undoubtedly the best governed and least governed colonies of the time; we were infinitely better off than the colonies of France or Spain. Moreover, the American people were entirely loyal to England. American public documents of those days show a deep respect for England's monarchical system of government and the

warmest personal affection for King George. And above all, Americans had a positive loathing for the idea of political independence.

At the close of 1774, Washington stated that anyone "who could believe that the people of Massachusetts were setting up for independence and what not, had been grossly abused." Even after the battle of Bunker Hill, when he had taken command of the Colonial army, and up to the Declaration of Independence itself, he absolutely refused to admit any desire on the part of the American people for independence. In March, 1775, Franklin said: "No American, drunk or sober, thought of independence." In April, 1775, Jefferson said: "I never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from the mother country." In July, 1775, Jefferson wrote: "We have not raised armies with designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states. Necessity has not driven us into that desperate measure." Thomas Payne alone, of all the conspicuous patriots, declared himself in favor of separation. In October, 1775, he wrote: "When I reflect upon the use she (England) hath made of the discovery of the new world * * * I hesitate not for a moment to believe that the Almighty will finally separate America from Britain. Call it independence or what you will, it is the cause of God and humanity; it will go on."

What then was the cause of the Revolutionary War? The answer is as old as the world. It has been written in the histories of nations long before Pharoah asked the people of Israel to make bricks without straw. It is the irreconcilable conflict between two conceptions of the meaning and purpose of human life. "It is the eternal struggle," says Abraham Lincoln, "between these two principles—Right and Wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says: 'You toil and work and earn bread and I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

PRIVILEGE AND INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY THE CAUSE

For centuries England's government had been under the influence of a selfish privileged class, headed by the Crown. As far back as the time of England's typical reactionary, Charles the First, up to the time of her still more typical reactionary, George the Third, the chief question that had engrossed this class in England was how to get money out of the people through taxes, assessments, tariffs, government monopolies, etc.

If the reader has time to look up the Twelfth Statute of Charles's reign, he will find England's commercialism expressed in a huge tariff act which would make Mr. Payne, Mr. Aldrich or Mr. Taft pale with envy. Its schedules cover twenty immense folio sheets, including its "Schedule K," a prohibitive duty on manufactured wool. It goes into the minutest details and draws distinctions between nails and pins of various sizes, and dolls' heads of different materials. But for practical purposes and in order to gain a fair idea of England's policy toward America, we need not go back farther than the Navigation Act of 1660, for it was from this time on that the system of enriching England's privileged industrial classes at the expense of the American people developed most rapidly. This Act reads in part as follows: "After the first day of December, 1660, * * * no goods or commodities whatsoever shall be imported into or exported out of * * * territories to his majesty belonging * * * in any other ship or ships, vessel or vessels whatsoever, but in such ships or vessels as do truly and without fraud belong only to the people of England * * * and whereof the master and three-fourths of the mariners at least are English, under penalty of the forfeiture and loss of all the goods and commodities."

FREIGHT RATES AND TARIFF

Here we have an English transportation monopoly fastened upon the American colonies as effectively as our railroad lines fastened their monopolies upon the people of the United States before rate regulation interfered. The Navigation Act of 1660 also took from the colonists the right to sell their products in the best market, for it provided that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, etc., should be exported from America to any territory not belonging to England. Laws were also passed placing heavy import duties upon necessaries of life imported into the colonies from any country but England. And in order to enforce such laws and prevent smuggling, an Act was passed in 1663 prohibiting ships carrying goods to America from stopping anywhere on the way. In 1672 what was called the Third Navigation Act was passed for the purpose of still more surely clinching England's monopoly over trade from America, by requiring that colonial exporters of tobacco, sugar, cotton, etc., should give a bond that these articles would be shipped to England and no other place. In 1696 came the Fourth Navigation Act, which practically reenacted previous regulations.

Skipping to 1733, we find the famous Molasses Act, passed to protect the British sugar islands from competition with the American colonies and with the French West Indies. It struck a heavy blow to the manufacturer of rum in the colonies by placing a high duty on the importation of sugar or molasses.

In 1764 came the so-called Sugar Act designed to raise revenue for the defense of the colonies from French invasion. Though its

purpose may have been justifiable, its effect was unfortunate. It placed a duty upon all sugars coming into the colonies, except from English possessions, of one pound, and two shillings, over and above the duties already imposed. On coffee, not imported from England, entering an American port, the same law levied a duty of $15 a ton. It fixed likewise, heavy import duties on silks, cloths manufactured in China, East India, etc., and on calicoes printed or stained in Persia, China, or East India, sixty cents a piece. The legislators of England were nothing if not thorough, and they proved their skill in the popular pursuit of exploiting the American colonies by including in the law of 1764 a long list of duties which the colonists had to pay in exporting their products to any country but England. This Act again provided heavy penalties for the American producers who failed to ship their articles "direct" into the British Empire.

At this point we have a situation where Americans were practically prohibited from buying what they needed in the cheapest market or selling what they produced to the highest bidder—where they were obliged to pay enormous import duties on their food and clothing, on the necessaries of life and of industry, and where transportation was in the hands of English monopolies and the colonists were obliged to pay whatever freight rates English companies demanded on everything that entered or left an American port.

Public opinion and the enormous amount of smuggling which resulted from the shameful exploitation of all Americans who were not in some kind of financial partnership with English transportation or manufacturing concerns, resulted in the repeal of the Act of 1764. And the English system of privilege fell back on the previous somewhat less predatory laws. But the indignation of our people did not subside, and, if it had, it would have been fanned into a white heat again when the Revenue Act of 1767 permitted excise officers to enter citizens' houses in search of smuggled goods, and "break open doors, chests, trunks and other packages" and confiscate the same. The Stamp Act of 1765, which history has made so much of, was passed as a retaliation against the colonists for resisting the demand that they should give to the English manufacturing and transporting companies a large percentage of the fruit of their labor. It was a measure which would have been impossible unless the privileged class of England, headed by a reactionary and ignorant King, had been in complete control of the government. It placed a tax upon almost every kind of printed matter in the colonies. On leases, deeds, wills, contracts, bonds, judgments, and even on newspapers and calendars. But it capped the climax with a two percent tax on "any sum not exceeding fifty pounds sterling money, which shall be given * * * in relation to any clerk or apprentice, which shall be put or placed with any master or mistress to learn a profession, trade or employment." And on sums over fifty pounds, it increased the rate to five percent.

AMERICAN COMPETITION KILLED

The Navigation Acts, Revenue Acts, Tariff Acts and Stamp Act were a terrible burden on the people of the colonies. But in the meantime England had gone still further in her policy of industrial slavery—this time along a line of still more direct and open exploitation. In 1750 Parliament, in whose deliberations England's big business played so strong a part, rushed to the defense of the captains of her steel industry. By the Act of 1750 England forbade Americans to erect "any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron; or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or *any furnace for making steel in said Colonies.*" Meanwhile, in order to protect the hat manufacturers in London, hat making in America was prohibited by an affirmative act of Parliament, while the anxiety of England's great millers in Manchester was similarly assuaged by laws prohibiting American manufacture of cotton goods.

At this time England's greatest corporation, the East India Company was on the verge of bankruptcy, although its storehouses contained tea and other East Indian goods valued at $20,000,000. America was using an enormous amount of tea which, on account of the high import duty, was chiefly smuggled from Holland and France. At the suggestion of the East India Company's directors, the English government not only abolished the national tax which the East India Company was paying to the Exchequer, but, in order to prevent smuggling and provide a market for the Company in America, it cut down the import duty on East India Company tea entering American ports. If the people of America had been willing to help out the English government in its project of putting this to help out the English government in its project of putting this great corporation on its feet, they would soon, as Trevalyan says, "have drunk the East India Company out of its difficulties." But they were so exasperated at England's commercial policy toward them that they preferred to smuggle tea at a loss rather than play into England's hands. When the first shipload arrived in Boston harbor, a party of Boston's prominent citizens, dressed and painted as Indians, boarded the ship and threw about $80,000 worth of tea into the bay.

ENGLAND'S LAWS AND LAWYERS

Law in the past has generally been the expression of the will of the privileged class. It is generally so to-day. The industrial laws with which England saddled the colonies were certainly so. Laws to prevent the colonies from selling their produce in the best markets; laws to prevent them from buying the necessaries of life from the cheapest markets; laws forbidding them to make anything or do anything that interfered with English monopoly; laws encouraging England's greatest corporation, the East India Company, at the expense of the colonial housekeeper; laws encouraging England's big business—steel, cotton and transportation—at the expense of the whole American people! In short, laws making it harder

and dearer for the average man of America to live and easier for the capitalist in England to make and keep a great fortune!

The men in power in England were not statesmen, but lawyers. They said it was right to exploit the colonies because England had the legal power to do so, and because she was merely following the precedent of other civilized nations. In this system of oppression of the American people, by a Parliament whose deliberations were guided by the will of the selfish privileged class, is found the cause of the American Revolution. It was England's attempt to fasten industrial slavery on America, and nothing more or less, that stirred in our people the spirit of revolt, and lost for England her empire in the western world. The fatal reactionary blunder which England made in her treatment of the American people is summed up in a single sentence of the Prime Minister, Lord Grenville. "Colonies," said he, "are only settlements made in distant parts of the world for the improvement of trade, and they would be intolerable except upon the conditions in the Acts of Navigation."

THE INSURGENTS

With that political wisdom and spiritual vision to which, of all the English, the Earl of Chatham paid the highest tribute, the colonists saw that equality of opportunity to earn a living must be the foundation of new world institutions, if they were to escape the social, political and religious injustices which had originally driven them from their homes. "Chatham," said Trevalyan, "after confiding to the House of Lords that his favorite study had been the political literature of the master countries of the world; declared and avowed that the resolutions and addresses put forth by Congress at Philadelphia, for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, were surpassed by no body of men, of any age and nation, who had ever issued a state paper." At the end of a terrific indictment of England's exploitation of the colonies he voiced in a few words America's protest against England's injustice. "We, your Majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty—what? Our property? No! We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's commons in America. It is an absurdity in terms."

Long before this time James Otis, the most eloquent and fiery of all American advocates of industrial freedom, embodied the spirit of the American revolution in his "Letter to a Noble Lord."

"As the colonists are British subjects, and confessedly on all hands entitled to the same privileges, with the subjects born within the realm, I challenge Mr. J———s, or anyone else, to give even the color of a conclusive reason why the colonists are not entitled to the same means and methods of obtaining a living with their fellow subjects in the (British) Islands * * * Can anyone tell me," he continues, referring to the statute forbidding the colonists from erecting mills for fabricating iron or setting up furnaces for making steel, "why trade, commerce, arts, sciences, and manufactures should not be as free to an American as to an European? Is there anything in the

laws of nature or nations, anything in the nature of our allegiance that forbids a colonist to push the manufacture of iron much beyond the making of a horseshoe or hobnail? * * * The Administrator has worked these principles up to 'fundamental maxims of policy at this cricis.' The Regulator hath followed him, and given broad hints that all kinds of American manufactures will not only be discountenanced, but even prohibited, as fast as they are found to interfere with those of Britain. That is, in plain English, we shall do nothing they can do for us * * * and what they cannot do for us, we are permitted to do for ourselves." And again: "Take my word for one my Lord, every inhabitant in America maintains at least two lazy fellows in ease, idleness, or luxury in mother Britain's lap. * * * The coarsest coat of the meanest American peasant, in reality contributes towards every branch of our gracious and ever adored sovereign's revenue. The consumer pays ultimately the tax, and 'tis confessed on all hands, and is the truth, that America, in fact or eventually, consumes one-half the manufactures of Britain."

And of the Stamp Tax, he says:

"The burden of the Stamp Tax will certainly fall chiefly on the middling, more necessitous, and laboring people. The widow, the orphan, and others, who have few on earth to help, or even pity them, must pay heavily to this tax."

This is the crux of the whole matter. Townshend, Grenville, George III, the manufacturers, transportation companies, and the whole privileged class of England believed that our colonies were a great farm or estate. This estate they proposed to work for their own benefit. And they did so with a will.

Crimes against the people have generally been committed by men who believed that they were in the right. The privileged class of England before the Revolution, like the privileged class in America to-day, no doubt believed that they were entirely justified. At all events they bolstered up their policies and acts with the most solemn precedents of law and history, until they brought upon themselves, upon England and America, a disaster which cost England more than her commercialism ever gained for her and plunged both peoples into war.

CONDITION IN COLONIES LIKE TO-DAY'S

The condition of England while her privileged class was sowing the wind and reaping the whirlwind of the Revolution, was like that of America to-day.

Macauley, Green, Trevalyan and other frank historians admit the utter commercialism and corruption that existed in both private and political life. A new element, says Trevalyan, was rapidly pushing to the front in Parliament and in society. The great manufacturers, the rich West Indian planters and the East Indian Nabobs were asserting the claims that new wealth at all times makes upon civilization, while the great peers who were barred by tradition from active work amassed huge fortunes in their Paradise of privilege—government service. The nobleman of that time had much to sell—social and political influence, introductions to the powerful, pressure upon the political representatives of big business, and tips upon the outcome of cabinet or Parliamentary deliberations. If he used his opportunities, and either played the market or invested

shrewdly under the right guidance, he could make the fortune of himself and his family with little effort. There was a millenium of graft in public life and in business. Historians tell us of men in public life who, in a short time, accumulated millions of pounds, all of it taken from the public's pocket, in army and navy contracts, or commissions or bribes, or all combined.

As a corollary to the great wealth of the privileged class, the people were desperately poor, and totally without influence in the government. Ignorance thrived everywhere, and reactionary sentiments came from the mouths of the most distinguished politicians. The King himself was a man practically without education. George the Third used to wonder, says John Fiske, in his history of the American Revolution, what people could find to admire in such a driveller as Shakespeare. He was too narrow to understand even the problems of his own household. For such a man to try to regulate an empire was utterly hopeless. Besides, he was without idealism and narrowly commercial. In Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," there is a paragraph which describes the policy of George the Third and his ministers in regard to America. "To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers, may at first sight appear a project fit for a nation of shopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers, but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers."

EARLY PROGRESSIVES AND STANDPATTERS

But the English privileged class was not made up entirely of reactionaries. And here again the parallel between the days before the Revolution and our times holds good. In Parliament, and even in the king's cabinet, there were a few great progressive leaders who, like the progressive leaders of to-day, championed the cause of democracy and industrial liberty in America. Such insurgent spirits as Chatham, Burke, Fox, Conway, Shelbourne and Camden, with all their power of genius and superb devotion, fought a glorious but losing battle against privilege.

On the 19th of April, 1774, Burke addressed the Speaker of the House of Commons, as follows:

"Permit me, sir, to lead your attention very far back; back to the Act of Navigation; the corner stone of the policy of this country with regard to her colonies. Sir, that policy was, from the beginning, purely commercial, and the commercial system was wholly restrictive. It was the system of a monopoly. No trade was let loose from that restraint, but merely to enable the colonists to dispose of what, in the course of your trade, you could not take; or to enable them to dispose of such articles as we forced upon them, and for which, without some degree of liberty they could not pay. Hence all your specific and detailed enumerations; hence the innumerable checks and counterchecks; hence that infinite variety of paper claims by which you bind together this complicated system of the colonies. This principle of commercial monopoly runs through no less than twenty-nine Acts of Parliament, from the year 1660 to the unfortunate period of 1764."

Camden in support of Pitt's great speech against the Stamp Act, said: "This position is founded on the laws of nature. Nay, more, it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own, no man has a right to take it from him without his consent, either expressed by himself or his representatives. Whoever attempts it, attempts an injury, whoever does it commits a robbery."

While England's insurgent spirits were fighting America's battle in England, our own insurgent patriots, James Otis, Francis and John Adams, Payne, Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Franklin, Dickinson, and a score of others were leading the cause in the new world, and indeed they had a hard battle to fight. America in the eighteenth century had as large a proportion of standpat Tories as the United States has to-day. And these men in newspapers, pamphlets, speeches, and in the deliberation of the American local political bodies, denounced the progressives in the same spirit and language as our most distinguished standpatters are using at the present time. When the Continental Congress met in September, 1774, and passed its Declaration of Rights, claiming for the American people a "free and exclusive right of legislation * * * in all cases of taxation and internal polity," American standpatters, thrown into a paroxism of fear and apprehension, began an energetic campaign of abuse against all those who had taken part in the "crime of Congress."

This campaign was carried on in newspapers and in speeches, but especially in tracts or pamphlets. One of the most conspicuous reactionaries of the time, E. B. Chandler, published a pamphlet called "What think Ye of Congress Now?" Writing in a spirit which seems familiar to the modern reader, he refers to the progressives as "our beer house gentry," "pretended sons of liberty," "sons of faction and confusion," etc. On the frontispiece appears the following declaration of hope: "It is hoped and expected, that this want of confidence (shown by the Continental Congress) in the justice and tenderness of the mother country and this open resistance to its authority can only have found place among the lower and more ignorant of the people." It is hard for a reader of the New York Sun, Tribune, or Evening Post to realize that this was written a century and a quarter ago.

Another standpat commentary on the progressive party in the colonies is as follows: "If the greatest enemies of British America had been employed to contrive the ruin of the colonies they could not have proposed a more effectual scheme or purpose." And again: "For these reasons I abhor the late Congress. Its first appearance raised our curiosity but excited no terror, but it was not long before it turned out to be a perfect monster—a mad blind monster."

In 1776, when the colonists came at last to realize that their only chance to stop industrial exploitation was independence from England, the standpat element became more panicky than ever. A typical Tory, writing under the name of Candidus, expresses himself as follows: "Volumes were insufficient to describe the horror, misery

and desolation awaiting the people in the Syren form of American independence, * * * Independence and Slavery are synonomous."

But Dr. Myles Cooper, in his "A Friendly Address to All Reasonable Americans," outdid even our own editorial "opinion moulders" in the following burst of eloquence, when he cried: "Oh, my infatuated countrymen! My deluded fellow-subjects, and fellow Christians! Open your eyes, I entreat you, awake from your dreams and regard your own safety." He then prophesied that under popular government even religious liberty would perish, and continued: "In a word, no order or denomination of men amongst us would enjoy liberty or safety, if subjected to the fiery genius of a New England Republican Government; the little finger of which we should soon experience to be heavier than the laws of Parliament. This (Parliament) has chastised us with whips when we deserved punishment, but that would torment us with scorpions whether we deserved it or not."

AMERICA'S PURPOSE UNCHECKED

But neither the threats and croakings of reactionary politicians in America and England, nor the lectures to "flagitious" Americans and "traitorous" members of Parliament, which the irascible George delivered almost daily from the throne, affected the progress of events. Something morè compelling than Tory threats and royal lectures was at work in the world. Revived by the new crisis, nourished by the opposition of men who could not understand or even see it, the great underlying purpose of American civilization had come to the front. The progressive struggle of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe had developed it. The colonists had borne it with them from England, France and the Netherlands, and a century of pioneer life had strengthened and tempered it into something more obstinate than the world had seen before.

There was no precedent in history for the colonists' revolt against so civilized a form of industrial injustice as that which England was visiting upon America. It was not a case of the brutal industrial slavery that the Roman Empire had once established throughout the whole civilized world, nor of the terrible reign of terror which Spain had visited upon the followers of William of Orange. It was unaccompanied by violence or political brigandage. It was a humane and polite industrial slavery at worst. In spite of economic oppression, the people of America were not poor. There was hardly any real poverty among them. As the world went in those days, they were extraordinarily prosperous and happy. Under every established rule of history the Americans should have yielded to England. And it was purely because they were the children, heirs and guardians of a superb spirit of industrial democracy, that they defied the laws, powers and customs of the age in an audacious bid for a degree of industrial democracy, which at that time was unknown.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WAR

The Revolutionary War is the most important event in American history. But it is not important because it showed that we were a people determined to achieve political independence. It showed nothing of the kind. In fact the events preceding the war proved beyond a reasonable doubt that we would rather have had England govern us than govern ourselves. But it did prove a fact which is of enormous importance to-day, and that is, that, above and beyond all considerations of politics, our people are dedicated to one paramount eternal principle, the principle that men and women shall have the right to keep for themselves the bread that they have earned by the sweat of their brow. To this end, and to this end alone, the colonists sought government by the people—that through the instrumentality of government by the people they might achieve a government *for* the people under which industrial liberty would be possible.

PART THREE

THE CIVIL WAR

The third period of American history covers the Civil War. Here we find the same principle that brought on the American Revolution at stake. The cotton growers of the South and the cotton spinners of the North combined to control the power of government and fasten industrial slavery upon the people. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854, by which chattle slavery was extended into free territory, convinced the people of the North that the slave and cotton oligarchy, though inferior in numbers, not only held the controlling influence in the government, but intended to maintain and extend it.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Republican Party, John Hay made a memorable address at Jackson, Michigan. He thus describes the cause of the Civil War: "If the slave holders had been content with their unquestioned predominence they might for many years have controlled our political and social world. * but the slave holding party could not rest content. * They felt instinctively that if their system was permanently to endure, it must be extended, and to attain this object they were ready to risk everything."

THE SAME PRINCIPLE AGAIN

The lesson of the Civil War is well nigh as clear as that of the Revolution. It has generally been maintained that the war was initiated to destroy human slavery. This, of course, is utterly without foundation. Lincoln and his followers were entirely opposed to the abolition of slavery until 1862. The question that occupied them was how to take the control of government out of the hands of the privileged class, which was for the most part the slave holding class of the South. To prevent the extension of slavery and thereby the permanent control of government by the privileged class was the problem faced by the people of the North. "Slavery itself," said John Motley in 1863, "the concentration of much power and property in a few hands, and the degradation of labor throughout a great section of the country would have of itself created the Privilege which it is the business of this generation of Americans to destroy, even without the technical and artificial advantage acquired by that unlucky clause of the Constitution."*

*Foot Note. The Constitution at that time provided that each state should be entitled to representation in Congress in accordance with the number of its inhabitants, each slave being counted as the equivalent of three-fifths of a white man. Thus property in slaves gave increased political power to slave-holding states.

When speaking of the proposed emancipation of the slaves, Lincoln said: "I view this matter as a practical war measure to be decided on according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the Rebellion." Lincoln bolted from the Whig Party, of which he had been a conspicuous and loyal supporter, first, because he wanted to destroy special privilege, and second, because he was opposed to the extension of chattel slavery, a form of special privilege which he hated, and the Whig Party tolerated.

In the destruction of the slave and cotton oligarchy through the victory of the North, the American people once more proved that they had not abandoned that superb heritage of intolerance to special privilege which their fathers and their forefathers had bequeathed to them. The dominant purpose of the nation was still active.

PART FOUR

AMERICA TO-DAY

The crisis to-day is the fourth great epoch of American history. In this crisis the first duty of American men and women, irrespective of party, is to look the situation fairly in the face.

It is reported that in 1900, when Tolstoy was desperately ill in the Crimea, he was approached by emissaries of the Holy Synod, who besought him to save his soul by subscribing to the orthodox canons of the Greek Church. Tolstoy listened to the arguments of the clerics with considerable impatience, and finally told them that, even if he could save his soul by professing faith in doctrines which he believed were false and inhuman, he nevertheless preferred to die an honest man, and take his chances of salvation. Nothing daunted, the emissaries of the Synod requested Tolstoy to think the matter over before making his final decision, and send his answer to them as soon as he had come to a conclusion. Soon after the interview Tolstoy's condition grew worse. He became unconscious, and it was feared that the great Russian patriot was sinking into his last sleep. But with unexpected vitality the old man rallied and, upon regaining consciousness, sent his answer. "Tell them," he said, "that even in the face of death, two and two make four." I believe that it is no exaggeration to say that the industrial crisis in this country is so grave that, even in the face of the necessity of breaking the political traditions of a lifetime, we must look at things with absolute frankness.

More and more each year we have felt about us the pressure of tremendous forces. Our country is going through a terrific period of unrest. Something is wrong. The great majority of our people have lost faith in the government. New schools of politics and economics have arisen on every side. New leaders are taking the reins of government and directing public opinion. The industrial world, but lately a dumb, powerless multitude of toilers, has suddenly become a vast militant army of thinking human beings. Our spirit of liberty has been renewed and strengthened by millions of men and women who, like our forefathers, have come from Europe to America to escape oppression and find a land of opportunity. Women are demanding their right of citizenship. The majority of our people are more unsatisfied with conditions than at any time in our history since the Revolutionary War. Some are asking for one kind of change and some for another; but all demand change—progress toward conditions under which they can live better and enjoy more fully the fruits of their toil. What is wrong? Whence

come the mysterious currents that are sweeping our nation onward away from things as they are? Where starts the mighty river of discontent that is destroying our respect for government, uprooting faith in political parties, and causing every precedent and convention of the old order to strain at its moorings? What is the cause and purpose of this era of stress and struggle, of suffering and bitterness, and of enmity between class and class?

THE CAUSE OF OUR UNREST

It is the same old story. History is repeating itself. Again we are going through the age-old struggle between the people and privilege. Once more, as in Europe when American colonization began, as in the colonies before the Revolution, as in the United States before the Civil War, the irreconcilable conflict has reached a crisis. Privilege has once more made the people of America mere tools in a vast scheme of industrial aggrandizement. The same arrogant spirit that says "you toil and work and earn bread and I'll eat it" has again gained a controlling position in American affairs. Our agitation and unrest, the portentous feelings of apprehension that every thoughtful man or woman experiences to-day, is but a sign that America's deepest instinct of self-preservation has been aroused and that we are once more at work on what Motley called the great task of his generation, but which we know is the basic purpose of our civilization—the destruction of industrial servitude and the establishment of industrial liberty.

To-day the drama of the great conflict is staged upon a new theatre, and with new scenes and actors. The massacres and dragonades of Louis the Fourteenth are over; the "Tenth Penny" tax no longer exists, the torture chambers of the Netherlands no longer glow with slow fires beneath twisted human flesh; Protestants are not hunted through the streets of Paris and the Hague; Calvanists do not burn Catholics at the stake as they did at Whitfield; the French corvée and salt tax, and the English chimney tax are things of the past. Mutilation is no longer practiced upon workmen who combine against English employers; men are not branded on the forehead because they refuse to work under the unjust conditions dictated by capital; laws holding property sacred and humanity its bloody sacrifice have ceased to decorate the cross-roads with the hanged bodies of little children who have stolen bread; the earnings of the common man do not flow into the exchequer of privilege in a bloody stream of gold a yard deep, as in Alva's time. The whole damnable system of violent exploitation which our forefathers left their homes to escape, and even the less violent forms of industrial tyranny which England fastened upon the colonies, has been modified if not totally abolished. But the fact remains, and we must face it, that, through the inexorable power of an economic necessity as compelling as physical bondage itself, vast multitudes of our people are to-day forced into intolerable industrial slavery. The small business man and farmer

is ground down, and the whole public is exploited and impoverished for the benefit of a small but immensely powerful privileged group.

Three centuries of civilization separate us from the crude days when our forefathers fled to the new world. Since then we have made enormous advances in science and industry. We have found and developed unparalleled wealth—a wealth many times that of any European nation. But in spite of all this, the average wage-earner of to-day lives, in or on the brink, of extreme poverty. He is infinitely worse off than he was in colonial days, or even fifty or a hundred years ago, infinitely worse off than before this wave of so-called prosperity occurred. What is the cause of this?

OUR PRIVILEGED CLASS

The privileged class in America is not unpatriotic; it has not consciously become the enemy of the people's welfare. In times of national and civic calamity it comes to the front generously. It is liberal toward hospitals and institutions for the blind, and it is strong on organized charities. It endows libraries, builds expensive churches, encourages foreign missions, and on the whole does its duty in a number of useful, though chiefly feudal, activities.

Owing to its wealth and power, it could exercise a tremendous influence in the fight for economic progress—for political and social democracy. But it is just here that the privileged class fails, for whenever the element of democracy—of political or economic equality of opportunity enters into the case, the priviliged class refuses to be counted in. It leaves the people's camp, makes a swift detour, and becomes the enemy. The privileged class is hostile to democracy, and the men and women who are fighting for democracy in America know this, and have learned not to look to it for help in times of need.

Though increasing numbers of individuals in the privileged class are now beginning to feel the spirit of democracy, the vast majority are reactionary and unintelligent in their attitude toward economics and government. They still believe, with James the First, that the people should not meddle in the "main points of government," and, with that great American financier who said, "Poverty is good for the people: it makes them thrifty."

Our privileged class consists of all those whom the shifting wheel of fortune has temporarily swung into a position where they are well above and beyond that battle for the crude necessaries of life which is the lot of the average man. Though the members of the privileged class have their struggle for existence, it is of a different kind. They are not obliged to concentrate their energies upon the task of making a bare living for themselves and their families. The object of this small but powerful group is to keep itself in a position of immunity from the worries and hardships of the average man's struggle, in short, from the inconveniences and the circumscribing influences of poverty.

In those who have reached this position of immunity, attended as it is by a desirable ease, dignity of life and freedom, there develops naturally and certainly a kind of class instinct of self-preservation. And it is this class instinct of self-preservation that makes reactionaries of the privileged class. They naturally desire to bequeath the advantages of wealth to their children, and their children's children, that they, too, may escape the evils of the common lot. They believe that the only way to do this is to hold to the old order, and oppose the new. Any change—any progress—may be the opening wedge to split the rock of privilege upon which they stand. They must ward off progress at all costs. Gradually and unconsciously this instinct of class-preservation exercises an automatic censorship on the minds of members of the privileged class. Its whole mental machinery halts when a progressive idea is presented to it, and does not begin work again until its watchful mental censor has rushed forward, seized the unfortunate idea by the breeches and collar, and violently ejected it.

To-day the progressive movement has thrown the privileged class of America into a continuous state of panic. It will not listen to reason. It does not see that even selfish considerations argue against class prosperity; and that, as in the time of Louis the Fourteenth, it is building up a top-heavy industrialism that cannot endure. Moreover, except in a very few cases, the descendants of the privileged class will be no richer than the average American. Only our greatest fortunes are able to hand down riches further than the third or fourth generation. Our laws themselves provide that two lives in being is the limit of a rich man's power to endow his posterity. "It is but three generations from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves." The great grandchildren of Dives probably peddled shoe strings. Whoever we are, our descendants will inevitably share the lot of the average man. Whether we are rich or poor, the only sure heritage that we can hand down to our descendants is to make this country a good place for the average man to live in.

Nevertheless, the privileged class is firmly opposed to a distribution of wealth which will be a little more comfortable for the country. When this is even hinted at, the privileged class is panic stricken. Like the young man in the nonsense book, it rushes forth with loud cries, leaps on its horse and rides away in all directions.

The privileged class in America is made up of men and women who are as humane and as public-spirited as the average. But they have failed in the first duty of citizenship; they have neglected to think enough.

OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

It is not the desire of the writer to exaggerate the seriousness of our situation to-day. And it is not in his power to give examples of every kind of economic wrong from which the average man—the wage-earner, the farmer, the small merchant or business man

and their families—suffer. But a brief mention of a few instances may serve to emphasize the immediate necessity of taking the control of our nation out of the hands of the privileged class and placing it once more in the hands of the people.

THE TARIFF

In 1862, in order to support the cost of the Civil War, the average tax on dutiable imports was raised from eighteen to thirty-six percent., and in 1865 again raised to forty-seven percent. Though the war terminated half a century ago, we have been raising the tariff ever since. Whether the general policy of protection is wise or unwise need not be discussed here. But a tariff policy such as that in the Payne-Aldrich bill, which protects capital much and labor little; which raises the cost of living, places some necessaries of life, such as wool, out of the people's reach, and increases the cost of others; which binds together our great financial and industrial powers and organizes them for purposes of pillage; which spreads trickery through trade and demoralizes Congress; is a drain on the people and a curse to the country.

Predatory industrialism is always shortsighted. As Senator Dolliver said, it goes on the principal that everyone is stupid. In the case of the tariff, it hoped that the people would never see the sardonic humor of "protection" applied only for the benefit of the strong and rich—of tariff "poor-farms" to which only great corporate interests were admitted. But if the policy of privilege toward tariff has been shortsighted, its administration of the whole industrial system has been more so. In its superb contempt for human intelligence, "big business" seems to have hoped the people would fail to realize that history was repeating itself, and that even, as in colonial days they were forced to submit to the demands of England's privileged class, so now they are forced to divide the fruit of their labor with America's.

THE TRUSTS

Every investigation of our corporations, whether conducted by commissions or legislative committees, has uncovered the same ruthless spirit of exploitation, and the same wholesale putting into practice of this spirit. We have fresh in our minds the continuous sordid larceny of the American Sugar Refining Company, planned and executed under the direction of its officers. The report of this company, dated March 13th, 1912, shows that it paid 24% on its common stock last year. Recently, too, the enormous tax that our great insurance companies levy on the public by reckless extravagance, financial manipulation, and control of legislatures, has been exposed.

In the current report of the Commissioner of Corporations we find that ten water power corporations control about 60 percent of all the developed commercial water power in the United States, and about 1,500,000 horse power undeveloped. We find that twenty-four hydro-electric corporations, over fifty public service corpora-

tions, and over fifty financial houses or banks, besides railroads and factories, are practically controlled by twenty officers and directors of the General Electric Company, and its three subsidiaries. And yet on July 29th, the Democratic Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported favorably to Congress the so-called Omnibus Dam Bill, which proposed to hand over to corporations waterpower on navigable streams worth not less than $40,000,000.

Three great express companies are to-day taxing every household in America by a monopoly of the express business, as effectively as the English transportation monopoly bled our colonists in the 18th century.

An enormous tax on the public, in dollars and cents as well as in health, has been occasioned through the breaking down of the Pure Food Law by party politicians, active in the interest of combinations of food poisoners and adulterators.

Rapid transit systems, gas and electric companies, water companies, packing houses, fuel and oil companies, and well nigh every great industrial combination that supplies the people with the sheer necessaries of life (and which are therefore in a true sense public service corporations) have united in the policy of despoiling the public.

It is fair to say that the Supreme Court of the United States is not an hysterical body of men. It is just to assume that their opinions are not governed by any inclination toward muck-raking or exaggeration. And yet the conclusions of its nine justices in regard to the Standard Oil Company are:

> "That the facts established that the assailed combination took its birth in a purpose to unlawfully acquire wealth by oppressing the public and destroying the just rights of others, and that its entire career exemplifies an inexorable carrying out of such wrongful intents, since, it is asserted, the pathway of the combination from the beginning to the time of the filing of the bill is marked with constant proofs of wrong inflicted upon the public and is strewn with the wrecks resulting from crushing out, without regard to law, the individual rights of others."

Oppression of the public, destruction of the rights of others, and a pathway strewn with wrecks; this is the Supreme Court's description of the career of our most conspicuous industrial trust, the Standard Oil Company. And yet no economic necessity on the part of the company forced it into such a career. The Standard Oil Company will earn this year approximately $100,000,000 on its $98,000,000 of outstanding stock, or about 20% on the whole enormous value of the property which it has amassed through the methods described above.

What may be said of the Standard Oil Company's methods undoubtedly applies to the American Tobacco Company which last year earned 64% on its common stock, the Bell Telephone mon-

opoly and a score of powerful companies who are crippling competition, taxing the public and crushing small business with as self-satisfied an egotism as England's lords of trade exhibited toward Colonial producers and consumers.

The Steel Corporation, which we are informed is one of the more humane trusts, is in many ways no exception to the general rule. In spite of its career of enormous profit making, it has worked its army of lower grade employees unmercifully, for a wage upon which economic experts, quoted in the publication of the Sage Foundation, declare it is barely possible to maintain reasonable physical efficiency. Working twelve hours a day for seven days a week, and 365 days a year, neither satisfactory family life nor good citizenship are possible for these industrial slaves. In order to prevent its employees from uniting to protect themselves from such industrial bondage, the Steel Corporation has stamped out labor organizations in its plants and provided a system of pensions with bonuses only to those who are "loyal" to the company. Recently, however, public opinion has taken a hand in its affairs and a promise has been given that three shifts of eight hours each will be substituted for two shifts of twelve hours each, an arrangement which has been adopted for years in the steel industry of other civilized countries. In England, for example, the maximum weekly hours of employment among steel workers of the lower grades has been fifty-four hours a week, instead of the seventy-two hour schedule enforced in our steel plants.

A significant commentary on the lack of humanity with which America's steel industry has been conducted is contained in the report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the State of Pennsylvania. He says that in the whole seven years from 1902 to 1909 (in spite of the increase in the steel business, and in spite of the rise in the cost of living), the average daily wage paid to steel workers in Pennsylvania rose only twenty cents. Meanwhile, in Allegheny County alone about five hundred men a year are killed in the steel industry. In the year ending June 30, 1907 (the last year in which the author could obtain statistics on this point), the average amount paid by employing companies to bereaved families, either voluntary or as the result of litigation, was $534, or less than three-fourths of the average wages of the dead man for one year.

NECESSITY MAKES MODERN INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY

Those who defend the policy of our great employers of labor maintain that their treatment of employees does not constitute industrial slavery, inasmuch as no one is obliged to work for any corporation unless he wants to. He is not branded on the forehead if he does not accept the employer's terms, as laborers in the reign of England's Stuart Kings were branded. "If he does not want to work twelve hours a day, or twelve hours a night," argues the industrial standpatter, "and if he is unsatisfied with an insuffi-

cient wage, he can go elsewhere." But this is exactly what he cannot do. The necessity for labor—for the food, shelter and clothing for themselves and their children—drives men and women to accept whatever terms are offered them with an argument as powerful, if less dramatic, than the brands and imprisonment of bygone times. As Norman Hapgood has pointed out in his admirable book "Industry and Progress" the powerful employer can to-day obtain labor in the United States at the lowest wages on which men are able to escape starvation. Such a condition of industrial slavery—such a pitiful inequality of wealth between the rich and the poor is utterly inconsistent with our American ideas. It establishes a disbelief in American liberty. It is an incentive to lawlessness. It is hostile to Christianity, and finally it is a woefully shortsighted policy.

Two hundred years ago even that cold materialist Bacon saw fit to warn England of the peril of this same economic inequality which exists in our nation to-day. "Above all things," said he, "good policy is to be used, that the treasures and moneys in a state be not gathered into few hands; for otherwise, a state may have great stock, and yet starve, and money is like muck, not good except it be spread." We do not expect our great corporations to be charitable institutions, we know they are not and should not be so. But we do expect them to be fairly good and intelligent citizens, and, as an elementary qualification of good citizenship, we demand that they shall at least recognize two fundamental principles; that the first lien upon their earnings is the payment of a just living wage to the labor that has produced them, and that rolling up enormous profits by overcharging the public for the absolute necessities of life is intolerable in a civilized community.

THE EXPLOITATION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Meanwhile, this same inequality of distribution of America's wealth, which is but another name for widespread poverty, is forcing child labor upon needy families and is menacing the vitality of future generations. The United States reports and the reports of the National Child Labor Committee show with painful detail that multitudes of children, from five to fourteen years of age, are working in factories of all kinds, mines, canneries, cotton mills, etc., for incredibly meagre wages, and under conditions and hours of labor which are impossible for them to bear without serious physical deterioration. In the canning industry, for example, thousands of children work from three in the morning until four in the afternoon, standing before benches the entire time and often without stopping for lunch. In the cotton mills of the south the same condition prevails. Children so small that they can hardly reach up to the looms are working from six in the morning until six at night. In 143 factories reported on by one committee, 9,000 children were employed. Ten percent were working for a twelve hour day or a twelve hour night and were under twelve years of age. Last winter,

when a bill providing for an investigation of child labor was introduced at Washington, all the traditional eloquence of fiery, Democratic Senators was exhausted in opposing it.

The preliminary report of the New York State Factory Commission shows that, in 1911, thirteen thousand children were employed in New York City. The last available statistics show the average weekly wage of all children in the state to be $3.64.

According to the United States Census of 1910, 293,000 women were employed in manufacturing establishments in New York State, and the average wage was $6.54 a week. When we consider the present cost of food, clothing and shelter, the question inevitably arises in our minds whether $6.54 a week is a living wage for a single or married woman who may be without other means of support.

The report of the Factory Investigating Commission also contains information upon the conditions of wages and labor in the "tenement industry," which may be enlightening to those who believe that the present discontent in America is merely the result of muck-raking and demogogic oratory. In November, 1911, there were 13,268 tenements licensed for home manufacturing, which contained from three to forty or fifty apartments in which manufacturing might be carried on. In the lower grades of industry, the Report states that "the average day's work will net about forty cents for the family, which means at least five hours' work a day for from five to six people." Thus, for twenty-five hours of human labor, these people receive forty cents. The highest family wage encountered by the Committee was $12 a week, for operating on dolls' clothes, earned by the combined labor of the father, mother and three children from eight to twelve years old, the children working after school hours and on Saturday.

The conditions of labor in the stock yards of Chicago and the textile mills of Lawrence are fresh in people's minds and will not soon be forgotten.

THE MONEY POWER

The dreary catalogue of shortsighted exploitation of our people by America's privileged class could be extended much farther. Unjust distribution of taxes and the evasion of taxation by the rich, Wall Street gambling, market raiding, pooling and every form of manipulation, imposes a gigantic tax on the nation which, in the last analysis, is paid by the average citizen. But the chief power that Wall Street has to divert the nation's wealth into the narrow channels of special privilege is through what we call the Money Trust. By its power of extending or withholding credit, it can decide what new enterprises shall or shall not be initiated. It can kill or encourage competition. It can regulate distribution and production, and exercise a commanding influence over the welfare of the whole country. Wall Street through the exercise of such a prerogative, has

had an opportunity of superb service to America. Because it has not felt the scope and dignity of its responsibilities, it is to-day, perhaps justly, recognized as a public enemy.

THE COURTS AND THE PEOPLE

Through the ages law has been the expression of the will of the privileged class. The decision of the Court of Exchequer in the Hampden case, the action of courts established in the Netherlands in Alva's time for the purpose of confiscation of property, the Dred Scott decision and the recent decisions of our Courts in such cases as the Ives case and the Bake Shop case, and the legalizing of the depredations of the Standard Oil and American Tobacco Companies, have all been milestones in the race for power between the people and Privilege.

Usurping the prerogative to overrule the will of the legislative branch of the government—a prerogative that our forefathers never dreamed of and our Constitution never hinted at—the courts have consistently laid down the proposition that property rights are supreme over all others. The bench has built up a structure of technicality and delay that favors the strong, and puts litigation, no matter how just, practically beyond the reach of the people. The result is that the average citizen will put up with anything rather than go to law. He fears going to court as sincerely as he fears going to jail. Both mean delay, humiliation, loss of time, loss of work and generally loss of money.

Through this lack of touch and sympathy with the problems of the average man in his daily struggle of existence, the courts have convinced the people that they have failed in fulfilling their high responsibilities. "But," says the spirit of Privilege, "the duty of a judge is, after all, the cold interpretation of law in relation to facts. It is a mathematical, mechanical, inhuman function, and should be." This line of argument is effective only with those who have given no real attention to facts. In a great majority of cases which affect public welfare, the question presented is one which demands a decision that is not purely intellectual. A statute provides a prohibition against the taking of property without due process of law, or against some other kind of wrong or injustice, but leaves absolutely open the question of whether the case in point does or does not constitute such a wrong or injustice. Thus the deciding element in the case, upon which may depend the welfare and prosperity of thousands of people, the health of children or the honor of the nation, is an element which cannot be passed upon through coldly intellectual process, but which requires the exercise of a fine sense of moral justice, a knowledge of actual conditions and a sympathy with human nature. It was exactly for the reason that he possessed such qualities that the late Judge Harlan was so honored, loved and lamented by all of us.

In law, as in nature, there is a black and a white. But there is

also a variety of grays shading gradually, imperceptably into black or white; and it is in this baffling zone of indeterminate, changing human relationships that the courts must make the decisions that mean justice or injustice to millions of our people. Our Courts do not recognize the fact that a great part of the matter with which they must deal cannot be seen with the eyes of cold intelligence. Nor have they seen that law must grow and change as our nation grows and changes. The courts and privilege have sought to kill the progressive growth of law. They have largely succeeded, and now they desire to chain the living nation to the body of a corpse.

POLITICS AND BUSINESS

Thus, we must face the fact that, in America, we have permitted an uncontrolled industrial oligarchy to assume, and use for its own purposes, a tremendous and arrogant power.

Power to rob the people by graft tariffs; power to dominate two great political parties; power to refuse self-government in this republic; power to dictate the hours and conditions of labor for our multitudes of working men and women; power to deny opportunity in this land of opportunity; power to drive little children to mines, factories and sweat shops; power to crush competition and grind down the middleman; power to mould our laws and curb the administration of justice; power to monopolize the vast natural resources that are the source of our nation's wealth; and, above all, power to fix both the wage of labor and the price of the staple necessaries of existence.

The tribute paid by Americans to England's privileged class, before the Revolutionary War, was less formidable than that which Americans pay to their own privileged class to-day. Surely, when our forefathers dedicated this nation to freedom, a century and a half ago, they little dreamed of the wreck which uncontrolled industrialism would bring to democracy.

Industrial, rather than political, is the foundation of America's crisis to-day. Politics is not the real trouble. Politics, as in the days of our ancestors in England, France and Holland, and in our own Revolutionary and Civil War times, is merely the instrument with which "big business" has built up and maintained the system of industrial oppression—which is the real trouble.

In order to make absolute and enduring this system, our two great political parties have been captured by privilege, and are now serving it with all the immense power of party machinery. To any fair-minded man, argument is unnecessary on this point. And to any clear-thinking man, the idea of carrying on the fight for industrial liberty within parties owned and operated by men who have spent their lives building up industrial slavery is without logic or common sense. No permanent economic reform on a large scale has ever been accomplished from within an old established party. Lincoln and Sumner could not accomplish it in the old party. William of Orange,

Washington, and hundreds of the world's greatest men have tried this experiment and failed signally. The citadels of privilege always have some right-thinking men in their garrisons, but no matter how public-spirited such men may be, their influence is outweighed a hundred fold by the mercenaries that crowd the walls.

WE WILL FINISH THE FURROW OUR FATHERS BEGAN

Such are the conditions of life that have brought our people to the fifth epoch of their history—the Progressive advance of to-day. We have wandered far from the purpose that our ancestors bequeathed to us, but at last we are on our homeward journey. The fulfillment of a high national destiny is at hand.

Throughout the ages it has been the object of feudal and monarchical systems to keep the average man from his rightful heritage of the knowledge of things as they are. Throughout the ages the deepest instinct of mankind has taught the people that knowledge is power, and that only through knowledge can the fight for liberty and equality of opportunity be won. While the eternal spirit of Privilege has spread oppression through the land, while the people have suffered and justice has slept, a power stronger than politics and stronger than finance has been marshalling its forces to oppose the dominion of industrialism and party rule and to arouse the people to real citizenship. Slowly but effectively, education, the spirit of independent thought, which is but another name for the spirit of Democracy, has been doing its work. To-day for the first time in half a century our people are awakening to their moral and intellectual power. They are asserting their right to think for themselves—to govern themselves. They are demanding liberty. The old progressive spirit of our forefathers is once more aroused, and a new progressive movement, born of the people's suffering and upheld by their conscience and education has begun.

The Progressive Movement is not a political movement, or for or against any man. It will go on irrespective of men and party lines, because it has the living power of the whole nation behind it and a constructive program of usefulness before it. It will go on because it is not a movement to destroy, but to rebuild our government.

The Progressive Movement is radical, because it has real problems to solve. It is a practical movement, because it deals chiefly with a more just distribution of wealth, which is at the very bottom of the bread question in every land and age. And above all, it is a movement toward the highest ideals of humanity, for it calls man to his fraternal duty toward man.

The world is to-day in a ferment of endeavor more pregnant with good than ever in the ages. With immense and multiplying power we are forging ahead. Empty and outworn forms, prej-

udices and shibboleths are brushed aside. The young men and women of the nation are at last demanding reality. In industry, politics, religion; in literature, the drama, in ethics and in every relation of life, our people have declared for progress, for clear thinking and frank speaking. Things must stand the test of reason. Injustice is no longer respected because it claims the authority of years. Crime and disease are no longer looked upon as the inevitable by-products of civilization. Even poverty itself, under the daring analysis of modern thought, has begun to be classed as a preventable social disease.

In the transition toward better things, we cannot escape the inevitable results of struggle—the weariness, the doubts and the scars. The new furrow is ever hard to turn, and the day's work does not always bring its wage. As of yore, the old order is dying hard, and the new is born with sorrow and travail. But in spite of this and in spite of every power of Privilege, Cynicism and Inertia, our progress cannot be checked. America's purpose will be fulfilled. Only courage is needed—the courage to believe in our own minds and our own consciences, and to continue simply on the road which we have begun. But we cannot turn back if we would. For the people have seen the truth and the truth has made them free.

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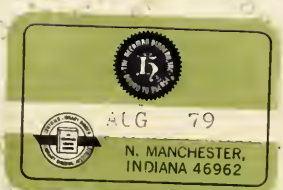
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